1: Métraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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gence. She must also beat and dew barkcloth." Plaiting and tapa making should be mentioned among the woman's industries. Contrary to Geiseler's statement (87, p. 41) women never made nets (190, p. 430).

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Misled by their preconceived ideas regarding the status of women in primitive societies, the missionaries assumed that before the introduction of Christianity the Easter Island women were drudges. The only recorded instance in which a woman was submitted to drudgery is that in which a chief named Manu walked carefree while his wife bent double under a heavy load. When the missionary remonstrated, the chief answered, "That is woman's work. He appeared very much ashamed when the missionary compelled him to help with his wife's burden (230, vol. 6, p. 124).

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As the general tendency of missionaries is to depict the character of the natives in the darkest colors in order to stress the benefits of their own influence, the mistreatment of women which they report so complacently cannot be accepted as entirely true. Roussel (190, p. 430) says with indignation: "How many times have I not seen husbands striking their wives with a knife on the face or head with the intention of killing or mutilating them!" Such brutalities occur occasionally at present but are not typical of the ordinary behavior of men toward their wives.

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Strict separation of sexes during meals does not seem to have been enforced on Easter Island, at least in daily life. Perhaps chiefs or priests ate apart as is testified by the passage below and by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p 124) who alludes to the fact that sometimes no place was reserved for women at banquets. Roussel (190, p. 430) says:

> No tapu prevents men and women from eating together or with their children of either sex, but the husband, being the strongest, always gets the choicest parts. He must be very much attached to his wife or children before he will give them an equal portion or even leave any portion for them if he is eating chicken or fish. Some husbands receive their food separately.

Divorce

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Viriamo was married three times during her long life. She left her first husband who was unsatisfactory and went to live with a Miru man in Anakena. Her third husband was a Tupa-hotu, the father of Tepano. The apparent ease with which she left her first husband suggests that marriage ties were not very strong in the old days. Testimony of the early missionaries verifies this. "The slightest disagreement or disgust between the consorts was sufficient to break the ties that united them" (190, p. 466). "The islanders of Rapa-nui do not consider marriage as an unbreakable tie. Husband and wife were allowed to part by common consent" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). "Divorce in general was very simple. When the husband said to his wife that he did not want her any more, the separation was made. The wife had the same right as her husband" (87, p. 29).

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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SERVING OF FOOD

264 415 The food was served on mats or in baskets. Roggeveen (186, p. 16) tells us that the natives brought him "a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot." G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571) also speaks of matted baskets "full of sweet potatoes."

482 492 493 To carry food, and, in general any burden, the Easter Islanders had carrying poles (*amo*) which they balanced on one shoulder. This means of transportation has entirely disappeared and is remembered only by the old people. Today carts or packhorses are used.

FOOD ETIQUETTE

264 Nowadays no particular custom or rite is observed at meals. The women do the cooking assisted occasionally by the men when they have time or feel like helping. No native begins to eat before he has muttered a prayer or [782] crossed himself. Formerly a food offering was made to Haua and Makemake before meals, pronouncing the formula "Ma Haua, ma Makemake."

574 Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 233-236) describes a banquet given for him by a powerful chief of Hotu-iti. The feast was the first sign of friendship shown toward the missionaries by the natives of that part of the island. Since other chiefs on the island had already honored the missionaries with feasts, this chief felt that to maintain his dignity he must give an especially fine one. Therefore he ordered his people to fish and to gather sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and fowls in abundance.

574 264 A big oven was dug out and kindled in the morning. When the missionaries arrived they were invited to sit on four stones around the oven and mats were stretched in front of them. The chief asked the missionaries if they were ready to eat, they said that they were, and at a given signal ten men rushed toward the oven and opened it. The best pieces of food were laid on small mats and deposited at the feet of the missionaries. After this, the chief and his friends were served.

"You should have seen," writes Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 237), "the dexterity with which they cleaned the carcass of the chicken from its meat and the avidity with which they devoured the meat with the small bones . . . " To quench their thirst they chewed sugar cane.

The common people stood waiting while the honored guests ate their meal. At a signal from one of the missionaries, they came forward and helped themselves to any food left in front of the guests and in the oven. The women and children were served last. From a delicacy like chicken or fish all they got was the bones to chew and "these bones were already chewed once or twice" (81, vol. 38, pp. 126-127).

The general gaiety of the meal was spoiled by the complaint of a visiting chief that he had not been served according to the rule of etiquette. He was supported by his retainers and the quarrel almost developed into a battle.

After the meal the guests rested in the shade and the day ended with "games and diversions."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Kena (The Gannet Woman). The female *akuaku*, in the form of birds, taught men to extract dye from turmeric (*Curcuma longa*). The first bone fishhooks were made by Ure, a capricious and strange character of Easter Island folklore. An *akuaku* bird (the frigate) brought a new kind of yam as a gift to a man called Rapu.

Not all *akuaku* were well disposed toward men. In remote times the island was full of mischievous and murderous demons. Thirty of them were destroyed by a man called Raraku in a temporary fit of madness. The general slaughtering by Raraku did not relieve the land from all its devils, for tales describe monsters, like the Woman-of-the-long-arm, who were constant menaces to men until they were killed. Some demons proved helpful in difficult circumstances. Hiva-karere (The-flying-foreigner), Mata-mata-vara-vara-ahu-Raai (The-rain-with-large-drops-of-the-ahu-Raai), and Paepae-a-Tari-vera (Stone-house-of-Tari-vera) saved a famous warrior (*matatoa*), whose soul (*kuhane*) was kidnapped by another spirit.

Through old Viriamo, some information has come to us about the relations between men and *akuaku*. The spirits or gods of Viriamo's district were Tare and Rapahango. Rapahango was also the family name of my informant, Victoria, who claimed for her ancestors some association with that *akuaku*. Rapahango and Tare were especially well disposed toward the Tupa-hotu and brought their friends in this tribe food they had stolen from other people. In exchange, the *akuaku* received an offering each time an *umu* (earth oven) was opened in a house they favored with their visits. Before starting the meal, the host or some important guest would say: "This is for such-and-such an *akuaku* . . ." I understood that a small portion of the meal was presented to the god or the spirit; but Routledge (194, p. 237) got the impression that "the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only."

The spirits had long talks with men or women who succeeded in winning their confidence. They foretold the future, announced impending dangers, and revealed secret things. I was told by Viriamo's son that in her youth Viriamo had been seen at night speaking familiarly with the two spirits, Tare and Rapahango. The voices of these spirits were always high-pitched and recognizable. When the *akuaku* were in a house, those who wanted to have an interview with them or make offerings to them had to crawl into the hut backwards.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

In place of plank floors the bare earth is strewn with dried bulrushes and grass to the depth of several inches, and as this litter is rarely renewed, the result is obvious. Occasionally a bunk may be found knocked up at one end of the single apartment of which the house consists, or, as in the more pretentious houses, a square bedstead may be seen, built of planed, unpainted wood, with a wild attempt at scroll carving about the head and foot boards. Chairs and tables are unknown luxuries.

The same house is often occupied by several families, or by several generations of the same family, but as the individuals composing these are never very numerous there is no overcrowding.

A few of the more ordinary cooking utensils may occasionally be seen, but as a rule the natives, as is generally the case among the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, prepare their food in stone ovens in the following manner: A circular excavation is made in the earth outside of the dwelling, several feet in diameter and a foot or two in depth, which is then neatly lined with a porous stone of some sort. Other stones are loosely laid in, and a quantity of dry wood or brush of any kind, with more stones, piled on. The wood is then set on fire, and, when the stones have become sufficiently heated, the loose ones are taken out, and the brands and cinders removed, leaving the lining of heated stones intact. Over these is then spread a layer of banana, breadfruit, or other large leaves to keep the food from contact with ashes. The food, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, fowl, short, or "long pig," or whatever else there may be, previously prepared for cooking, is then placed on the layer of leaves, piece by piece, until all are in position, when the mound of food is carefully covered over with several thicknesses of large green leaves to prevent any dirt from falling in among the edibles. The heated stones, previously removed, are then placed in position all over the mass and finally a thick layer of fine, dry earth, ashes, and cinders is piled over all, these being for the purpose of retaining the heat. In from two to three or four hours the baking is finished, and, barring the "long pig," perhaps, a more healthful and toothsome method of preparing and cooking food, when superintended by an expert native Samoan *chef*, for example, could not, in the estimation of the writer, who has had opportunities for judging, be devised. The thought suggests itself here that the "clambakes" of our Atlantic States are a feeble imitation of this style of cooking among the islanders.

As wood or solid fuel of any kind is a most rare commodity on Rapa Nui the natives are compelled to use brush, twigs, and trash cast up on their island by the sea, anything, in fact, of an inflammable nature which they can pick up. They even economize the dried droppings of the cattle, as the Arab does those of his camel, for this purpose, and I saw great basketfuls of these carefully stowed away in their houses for future use.

They have no fixed time for eating, and, while their *mean*, as may be

CHAPTER XVI

NATIVE CULTURE IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES (*continued*)

Religion—Position of the Miru Clan—The Script—The Bird Cult—Wooden Carvings.

RELIGION

771 THE religion of the Islanders, employing the word in our sense, seems always to have been somewhat hazy,[1] and the difficulty in grasping it now is increased by the fact that since becoming Roman Catholics they dislike giving the name of "atua," or god, to their old deities; it only drops out occasionally. They 776 term them "aku-aku," which means spirits, or more frequently "tatane," a word of which the derivation is obvious. The confusion of ideas was crystallised by a native, who gravely remarked that they were uncertain whether one of these beings was God or the Devil, so they "wrote to Tahiti, and Tahiti wrote to Rome, and Rome said he was not the Devil, he was God"; a modern view being apparently taken at headquarters of the evolution of religious ideas. Both these words, tatane and aku-aku, will [128] be employed for supernatural beings, without prejudice to their original character, or claims to divinity; some of them were certainly the spirits of the dead, but had probably become deified; the ancestors of Hotu-matua were reported to have come with him to the island. They existed in large numbers, being both male and female, and were connected with different parts of the island; a list of about ninety was given, with their places of 776 residence. No worship was paid, and the only notice taken 782 of these supernatural persons was to mention before meals 264 the names of those to whom a man owed special duty, and

[1] Our impressions on this head are confirmed by a remark of Brother Eyraud. "Though I have lived in the greatest of intimacy and familiarity with them, I have never been able to discover them in any act of actual religious worship."—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Jan. 1866.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

invite them to partake; it was etiquette to mention with your own the patron of any guest who was present. There was no sacrifice; the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only. Nevertheless, the aku-aku, in this at least being human, were amiable or the reverse according to whether or not they were well fed. If they were hungry, they ate women and children, and one was reported as having a proclivity for stealing potatoes; if, on the contrary, they were well-disposed to a man, they would do work for him, and he would wake in the morning to find his potato-field dug, which, as our informant truly remarked, was "no like Kanaka."

The aku-aku appeared in human form, in which they were indistinguishable from ordinary persons. One known as Uka-o-hoheru looked like a very beautiful woman, and was the wife of a young Tupahotu who had no idea she was really a tatane. She lived with him at Mahatua on the north coast, and bore him a child. One very wet day she was obliged to leave the house to take fresh fire to the cooking-place where it had gone out. When she returned, her husband was angry that she had no red paint on her face, and, not heeding her explanation that the rain had washed it off, took a stick to beat her. She ran away, and he followed, till at last she sat down on the edge of the eastern headland, where there is now an ahu known by her name. When by and by he came up, she told him to go back and look after the child, and fled away like a rushing whirlwind over the sea and was no more seen.

Two other female tatane are reported to have lived together in a cave on the cliff-side of Paréhé,[1] whose names were Kava-ara and Kava-tua. They heard all men tell of the beauty of a certain Uré-a-hohové, a young man who lived near Hanga Roa; so they went down to see him, put him to sleep, and carried him on his mat up to their cave, where they left him. Before going away they told an old woman, also an aku-aku, that she was not to go and look into the cave. This she naturally proceeded to do, and, finding Uré, warned him to eat nothing the two tatane might give to him, supplying him herself with some

[1] The outermost of the three hillocks on the eastern volcano on which the Spaniards set up the crosses in 1770. Half of it has been worn away by coastal erosion (fig. 78).